



Denominal verb constructions. A Germanic Sandwich?

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PART 1

Theoretical background

Denominal verbs: definition

- **Denominal verbs (DNVs)** are “verbs formed from nouns by means of various word-formation processes” (Baeskow 2019: 1, cf. also Kaliuščenko 2000, McIntyre 2015)
- Most common DNV formation processes in Germanic/Romance languages (cf. Štekauer et al. 2012):
 - **Affixation (overt derivation):**
 - Suffixation: Eng. *symbol*_N > *symbol-ize*_V
 - Prefixation: Germ. *Gold*_N ‘gold’ > *ver-gold(en)*_V ‘to gild’
 - **Conversion (zero-derivation):** Eng. *bottle*_N > *bottle*_V
- Kaliuščenko (2000)’s typological study indicates that **suffixed denominal verbs** are most productive cross-linguistically

Type 1: N > V conversion

- **Conversion** is a morphological process whereby a new word belonging to a different word class is formed without any formal change (e.g. English *a bridge_N* > *to bridge_V*) (Bauer and Valera 2005, Valera 2014, van der Wouden & Booij 2017, Díaz-Negrillo & Fernández-Alcaina (Eds) 2018, Martsa, 2013, 2019 forthc.)
- A “**specifically English process**” (Marchand 1969: 363-364)
- The concepts of ‘word class’ and ‘lack of formal change’ are more problematic when applied to other languages:
 - **Word class change:** Word class systems and boundaries may vary from language to language
 - E.g. ADJ/ADV in Dutch : *een **mooi** lied* ‘a beautiful song’ / *ze zingt **mooi*** ‘she sings beautifully’
 - **Minor changes often accompanying conversion:**
 - **Inflection:** Dutch *zon_N* ‘sun’ > *zonnen_V* ‘to sunbathe’
 - **Stress shift:** Eng. *contrast_N* > *to contrast_V*
 - **Consonant voicing:** Eng. *shelf_N* > *shelve_V*
 - **Vowel change (umlaut):** Germ. *Flucht_N* ‘flight’ > *flüchten_V* ‘flee’
 - Etc.

Type 1: N > V conversion

- **Problem of directionality: denominal verb (V<N) or deverbal noun (N<V)?** (cf. McIntyre 2015, van der Wouden & Booij 2017)
 - **Etymology:** Germ. *Schlaf*_N 'sleep' < *schlafen*_V 'sleep' (not denominal!)
 - **Productivity of the derivational relationship:** "you can verb almost any noun"
 - **Inflection:** converted verbs have regular (weak) inflection
 - Eng. *I slided the sample* 'put it on a slide' (weak inflection, denominal) vs *I slid the sample under the microscope* (strong inflection, not denominal)
 - **Phonology:**
 - Germ. *köpfen*_V 'behead' is denominal (< *Kopf*_N 'head') because some German morphological processes trigger umlaut, but no morphological rule de-umlauts its input
 - **Semantic transparency:** interpretation of the V needs to refer to the meaning of N (and not inversely)
 - Eng. *the clouds mushroomed* 'to grow in size very rapidly, like mushrooms'
- **Non-directional analyses:** N and V are both derived from category-neutral or underspecified roots (e.g. Kiparsky 1997, Farrell 2001, Don 2005)

Type 2: Suffixed DNVs

- **Productive vs unproductive suffixes**
 - Productive in English: *hospitalize*, *mythify*, *fluoridate*
 - Unproductive in English: *heighten*
 - Cf. Plag 1999: phonological constraints, distribution and semantic competition
- **Native vs non-native suffixes:**
 - Native: e.g. Germ. *Angst* 'fear' > *ängstig(en)* 'frighten'
 - Non-native: Dutch *-eer*, German *-ier* < borrowed from the French inflectional suffix *-er*, but reinterpreted as verbalizing suffixes (cf. van der Wouden 2017, Hüning 2018)
 - Fr. *expériment(er)* / Du. *experimenter(en)* / Germ. *experimentier(en)*
 - Cf. German DNVs based on borrowed and indigenous nouns:
 - *attackieren* 'to attack' (cf. Fr. *attaquer*) vs *buchstabieren* 'to spell'
 - Neologisms *-ieren/-isieren* (Hüning 2018): *merkelisieren*, *Lattemacchiatisierung*

Type 3: Prefixed DNVs

- **Prefixes** deriving verbs from nouns have a special status because, contrary to ordinary prefixes, they seem to be class-changing (violation of RHR)
e.g. Eng. *cage*_N > **en***cage*_V, *witch*_N > **be***witch*_V, *friend*_N > **un***friend*_V
- **Different theoretical accounts:**
 - Prefix as class-changing head (Lieber 1981; Štekauer 2000): [en- [*cage*]_N]_V
 - Intermediate stage of zero-suffixation (Scalise 1988): [en-[[*cage*]_N ∅]_V]_V
 - Schema unification (cf. Booij 2010: 41-50) (prefixation + conversion):
[pref [*X*]_V]_V + [[*X*]_N]_V → [pref [[*X*]_N]_V]_V

Type 4: Complex DNVs: SCVs and ICVs

- **Complex DNVs:** denominals coexisting with (separable/inseparable) preverbs
 - **Separable Complex Verbs (SCVs):** Eng. *to pig out* 'to eat too much' (**to pig*), Dutch *op-hoop(en)* 'to pile up' (**hoop(en)*), Germ. *auf-bahr(en)* 'to place on a bier' (**bahren*)
 - **Inseparable Complex Verbs (ICVs):** Dutch *over-brug(g)(en)* 'to bridge', Germ. *um-rand(en)* 'to edge'

Type 4: Complex DNVs: SCVs and ICVs

- **Theoretical issues:**

- Can separable preverbs function as class-changing heads?

*De problemen **hopen** zich **op*** ‘The problems pile up’

- Do we have to recognize possible, but not attested (converted) verbs?

[op [[hoop]_N]_V]_V (Booij 2010: 127)

- Do we have to recognize SCVs as “words”? Cf. Booij (2010, ch. 5):

- Dutch SCVs have both phrasal and lexical properties (e.g. bound meaning)

- SCVs are instantiations of **constructional idioms**: ***[op [X]_V]_{V/VP} ↔ ‘to (cause to) move upward’*** (e.g. *optillen* ‘to lift up’)

- Denominal SCVs result from **schema unification (conversion + SCV idiom)**:

[[X]_N]_V + [op [X]_V]_{V/VP} → [op [[X]_N]_V]_{V/VP}

Type 5: Parasynthetic DNVs

- **Parasynthesis:** simultaneous attachment of both a prefix and a suffix, each bringing about their own functional load (cf. Scalise 1984, Iacobini 2010)
 - e.g. Dutch *de-stalin-iser(en)* 'remove the effects of Stalin's politics' (< *Stalin*)
(**destalin* and **staliniseren*)
 - Booij (2010: 41-47): schema unification: suffixation + prefixation
 - Eng. *de-cafein-ate*: $[[X]_N \text{ ate}]_V + [de [X]_V]_V \rightarrow [de [[X]_N \text{ ate}]_V]_V$

Type 6: Back-formation

- **Back-formation** is a subtractive morphological process whereby a new word is formed by removal of a suffix
 - Eng. *editor*_N > *edit*_V, *baby-sitter*_N > *baby-sit*_V
 - Eng. -ate verbs: *demarcation*_N > *demarcate*_V, *legislation*_N > *legislate*_V
- **Alternative theoretical approaches (synchronic perspective):**
 - **Analogy with suffixation:**
 - Huddleston & Pullum (2005: 286): “[T]here is nothing in the forms themselves that enables one to distinguish between affixation and back-formation: it's a matter of historical formation of words rather than of their structure”
 - **Compounding:** *to air-condition* (< *air-conditioning*), *to baby-sit* (< *baby-sitter*) (cf. Kiparsky 1982)

DNV constructions in Germanic languages

Construction type	English	Dutch	German
Conversion [[X] _N] _V	[[pilot] _N] _V	[[tafeltennis] _N] _V ‘to play table tennis’	[[Scherz] _N] _V ‘to joke’
Conversion with phonological change	[grass] _N > [graze] _V	[lot] _N > [lo:t] _V ‘to draw lots’	[Flucht] _N > [flücht] _V ‘to flee’
SCV [part [[X] _N] _V] _V	[[[size] _N] _V up] _V	[in [[lijst] _N] _V] _V ‘to frame’	[ein [[tüt] _N] _V] _V ‘to put in a bag’
ICV [prev _{insep} [[X] _N] _V] _V	[under- [[line] _N] _V] _V	[over- [[brug] _N] _V] _V ‘to bridge’	[um- [[rand] _N] _V] _V ‘to edge’
Prefixation [pref [[X] _N] _V] _V	[en- [[slave] _N] _V] _V	[ver- [[huis] _N] _V] _V ‘to move’	[ent- [[kalk] _N] _V] _V ‘to decalcify’
Suffixation [[X] _N suff] _V	[[ritual] _N -ize] _V	[[nest] _N -el] _V ‘to nest’	[[experiment] _N -ier] _V ‘to experiment’
Parasynthesis [pref [[X] _N suff] _V] _V	[de- [[caffeine] _N -ate] _V] _V	[be- [[kost] _N -ig] _V] _V ‘to bear the cost of’	[be- [[gnade] _N -ig] _V] _V ‘to bless’
Back-formation [[X] suff] _N > [X] _V	[bulldozer] _N > [bulldoze] _V	[dagtekening] _N > [dagteken] _V ‘to date’	[Weihnachten] _N > [weihnacht] _V ‘to be nearly Christmas; to have a Christmassy atmosphere’

DNV constructions: semantic classes

- Semantically, DNVs all denote events in which the referents of their base nouns participate in a non-arbitrary way (Baeskow 2019: 2)
- Different semantic classifications (e.g. Clark & Clark 1979, Plag 1999, Lieber 2004)

Semantics	Examples from DNVs
'to make into N, to produce N' (RESULTATIVE)	<i>bundle, calve, summarize, victimize</i>
'to provide with N, to add N, to cover with N' (ORNATIVE)	<i>staff, salt, computerize</i>
'to put (in)to N, move to N' (LOCATIVE)	<i>jail, archive, box, hospitalize</i>
'to act like N, to behave as N, to resemble N' (SIMILATIVE)	<i>guard, despotize, tyrannize</i>
'to perform N, to do N' (PERFORMATIVE)	<i>tango, audition, speechify</i>
'to become N' (INCHOATIVE)	<i>gel, oxidize</i>
'to do something with N, to use N' (INSTRUMENTAL)	<i>hammer, nail</i>
'to remove N' (PRIVATIVE)	<i>peel, bone, behead, unfriend</i>
'to be N' (STATIVE)	<i>landmark, hostess</i>

DNV constructions: semantic classes

- **Problems** (cf. McIntyre 2015, Baeskow 2019):
 - **Metaphoric shifts**: *How to **spice up** your relationship*
 - **Idiosyncratic semantic specialization**: *to trash* ‘lay waste to’ vs *to rubbish* ‘to criticize’
 - **Diachronic shifts**: *to **book** a hotel room*
 - **Semantic versatility and polysemy**:
 - *From planting the vines to **bottling** the wine, everything at Château d'Armailhac is a matter of experience, observation and patience.* [LOCATIVE] (<https://www.chateau-darmailhac.com/le-vignoble-2/the-vineyard/from-vine-to-wine>)
 - *man dude, me and the boys were up town the other night and this fool got **bottled*** [INSTRUMENTAL] (<https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=bottled>)
- Importance of **generic knowledge** and the **role of context**
 - Cf. Clark and Clark (1979: 783): DNVs are ‘**contextuals**’:
“[T]hey have an indefinitely large number of potential senses; and their interpretation depends on the context, especially the cooperation between the speaker and the listener”
- **Canonical Use Constraint** (cf. Prototype theory):
 - “if an action is named after at thing, it involves a canonical use of this thing” (Kiparsky 1997: 482)

The Germanic Sandwich Hypothesis

- Dutch is not only geographically, but also linguistically ‘sandwiched’ between English and German (cf. van Haeringen 1956, Hüning et al. 2006, Lamiroy 2011, König & Gast 2018, etc.)
- Cline: **English > Dutch > German**
- Some examples:

	English	Dutch	German
Phonetic reduction	<i>sleep, sun</i>	<i>slapen, zon</i>	<i>schlafen, Sonne</i>
Verbal inflection (simple present)	2 inflectional forms <i>sing, sings</i>	3 inflectional forms <i>zing, zingt, zingen</i>	4 inflectional forms <i>singe, singst, singt, singen</i>
Definite article	1 article <i>the day, the sun, the water</i>	2 articles <i>de dag, de zon, het water</i>	3 articles <i>Der Tag, Die Sonne, Das Wasser</i>
Word order	[SV chunk] <i>She sings</i> very well. Does <i>she sing</i> well? I know <i>she sings</i> very well.	[SV/VS/SOV] <i>Zij zingt</i> heel goed. Heel goed <i>zingt zij</i> ! Ik weet dat <i>zij</i> heel goed <i>zingt</i> .	[SV/VS/SOV] <i>Sie singt</i> sehr gut! Sehr gut <i>singt sie</i> ! Ich weiß, dass <i>sie</i> sehr gut <i>singt</i> .

State of the art: summary

- Much attention has been paid to the competition and distribution between (English) suffixes (e.g. *-ize* vs *-ify*, cf. Plag 1999), to the polysemy of individual affixes and of individual DNVs (cf. Baeskow 2019), but a **comparative study of all DNV formation strategies** is lacking.
- English, Dutch and German have the **same DNV formation strategies at their disposal**, but typological research has shown that languages do not show the same **proportions** in the use of different patterns of DNV formation (cf. Štekauer et al. 2012).
- DNV formation has been independently studied in English (cf. Gottfurcht 2008, among others), Dutch (cf. Booij 2018, among others) and German (cf. Eschenlohr 1999, among others), but a **cross-linguistic analysis** between these three languages is still lacking.
- According to the so-called “**Germanic Sandwich Hypothesis**” (cf. van Haeringen 1956), English, Dutch and German are situated along a cline.

Research questions

1. How are the different **DNV construction types synchronically distributed** in English, Dutch and German?
2. Is the « **Germanic Sandwich** » **hypothesis** confirmed by the synchronic distribution of DNV construction types in English, Dutch and German?
3. Which **typological factors** account for different distributions of DNV construction types?

PART 2

Corpus study

Corpus data

Ten Ten web corpora, available on the *Sketch Engine* platform (Kilgariff et al. 2014):

- Available for the three languages
- Native corpora, not translated language
- Web corpora: recent (2013-2015) and authentic language use
- Comparable registers (including informal language) and topics for the three languages
- Bottom-up research (not only neologisms found in dictionaries)

Data extraction

- **Word list** option in Sketch Engine to extract all verb types in the corpora
- To discard problems in infrequent verbs (e.g. tagging and spelling mistakes), we set a **cut-off point at 1/1 million verb tokens** for the 3 languages
- Random sample of **1000 verb types** per language
- Manual analysis of the 3 datasets to identify all denominal verbs



Sorting procedure

Stage 1: discarding irrelevant tokens

- Excluded: simplex verbs, deadjectival verbs, tagging mistakes (e.g. nominal use)

Stage 2: check directionality (N>V) in etymological dictionaries

- Denominal verb formation should be the last step of the morphological process,
e.g. $[re[[schedule_N]_V]]_V$ excluded
- N-V pairs should show a synchronic transparent semantic relation

Stage 3: check the attestation of the DNV in the corpus data

- The denominal verb should be well-attested in the corpus examples, e.g. ?*to express* (V) < *express (letter)* (N)

Size of the datasets

	English enTenTen15	Dutch nlTenTen14	German deTenTen13
Total number of words	15,703,895,409	2,576,596,803	16,432,078,370
Total number of verb types	936,069	6,437	498 378
Total number of verb tokens	2,393,433,270	351,637,464	2,430,613,798
Cut-off point (min. token frequency)	2393	352	2431
Total number of verb types (≥ cut-off min. freq.)	6,115	5400	9050
Total number of verb tokens (≥ cut-off min. freq.)	2,384,719,004	351,483,194	2,405,679,956
Number of DNV types (in random sample of 1000 verbs)	264	171	171
DNV proportion	26,4%	17,1%	17,1%

Results: English

DNV construction	Verb types	%
Conversion	226	85.61%
SCV	5	1.89%
ICV	-	-
Prefixation	3	1.14%
Suffixation	21	7.95%
Back-formation	9	3.41%
Parasynthetic verbs	-	-
TOTALS	264	100.00%

Results: English

- **Large majority of conversion (> 85%):**
 - Conversion of compound/prefixed nouns (18/226): *to network, to dovetail, to subtitle*
 - Conversion with phonological change (2/226): *to grieve > grief, to graze > grass*
- **SCV** (only 5 cases): *line up, freak out, rack up, dish out/up, sally out/forth*
- **Suffixation quite rare (< 8%)**
 - *-ise/-ize*: 18/21 (e.g. *emphathize, cannibalize*)
 - *-ate*: 3/21 (e.g. *carbonate, nauseate*)
- A few **back-formations**, e.g. *orchestration > orchestrate*
- **Prefixation** is exceptional, e.g. *befriend, enlist*
- No parasynthetic verbs, nor ICV

Results: Dutch

DNV Construction	Verb types	%
Conversion	83	48.54%
SCV	26	15.20%
ICV	8	4.68%
Prefixation	24	14.04%
Suffixation	27	15.79%
Parasynthetic verbs	3	1.75%
Back-formation	-	-
TOTALS	171	100.00%

Results: Dutch

- **Wide spectrum of DNV construction types**
- Almost half of the denominal verbs in Dutch are formed by **conversion**:
 - Also conversion of compound, prefixed and suffixed nouns (16/83), e.g. *tafeltennis(s)(en)* 'to play table tennis', *bankier(en)* 'to act as a banker'
 - Conversion on the basis of nouns borrowed from English (7/83), e.g. *cluster(en)*, *bridge(n)*
 - 1 case of phonological change, *lot* 'lottery ticket' > *lo:ten* 'to draw lots'
- Large proportion of DNV constructions with a (separable/inseparable) **preverb**:
 - **SCV**: e.g. *op-zweep(en)* 'to whip up', *in-lijst(en)* 'to frame'
 - **ICV**: e.g. *om-arm(en)* 'to embrace', *over-brug(en)* 'to bridge'
 - **Prefixes**: e.g. *be-straat(en)* 'to pave'

Results: Dutch

- **Suffixation:**
 - More frequent than in English, but mostly non-native suffixes (22/27)
 - *-eer/-iseer*: e.g. *inventaris-e(e)r(en)* 'to make an inventory'
 - Native suffixation not frequent (5/27): e.g. *nest-el(en)* 'to nest'
- **Parasynthetic verbs** (only 3 cases):
 - *be-kost-ig(en)* 'to bear the cost of', *ver-drievoud-ig(en)* 'to triple', *ont-moed-ig(en)* 'to discourage'

Results: German

- Assignment:
 - !! Distinction between inflectional vs derivational suffix
 - !! Distinction between SCV, ICV and prefixation
- Problematic cases:
 - *Tingeltangel* > *tingeln*
 - *Minimum* > *minimieren*
- Non-transparent verbs from a synchronic point of view?
- Percentages per DNV construction?

Results: German

DNV construction	Verb types (Houtart 2019)	% (Houtart 2019)	Verb types (HUBerlin 2020)	% (HUBerlin 2020)
Conversion (incl. phonological change)	104	60.82%		
SCV	6	3.51%		
ICV	1	0.58%		
Prefixation	15	8.77%		
Suffixation	37	21.64%		
Parasynthetic verbs	6	3.51%		
Back-formation	2	1.17%		
TOTALS	171	100.00%		

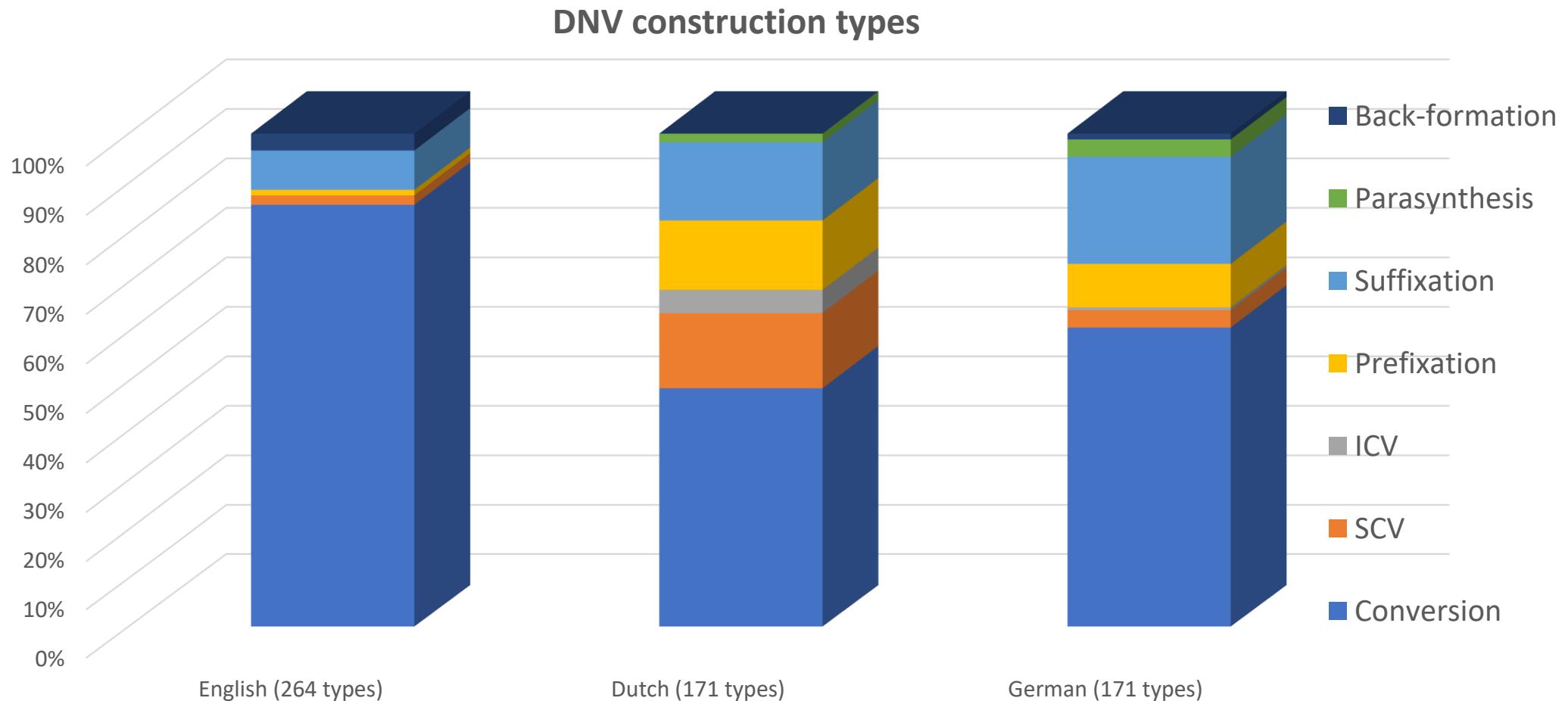
Results: German

- Majority of **conversion** (> 60%)
 - Conversion with phonological change (13/104 – 12.5%)
 - Umlaut: *Kampf* > *kämpfen* ‘to contend with, combat’
 - Consonantal change: *das Kennzeichen* > *kennzeich-n(en)* ‘to characterize’
 - Conversion on the basis of nouns borrowed from English (14/104) e.g. *grill(en)*, *finish(en)*
- Large amount of **suffixation** (4 different suffixes) (> 21%):
 - Mostly non-native suffixation (34/37): e.g. *grund-ier(en)* ‘to ground, to prime’, *ideal-isier(en)* ‘idealize’
 - Native suffixation not frequent (3/37): *wilder(n)* ‘to poach’, *radel(n)* ‘to cycle, to bike’

Results: German

- Denominal verbs combined with a **preverb (12.23%)**:
 - Mostly **prefixation** (4 different prefixes): e.g. *ver-kabel(n)* 'to cable', *be-eindruck(en)* 'to impress', *ent-kern(en)* 'to stone, to pit', *er-höh(en)* 'to heighten'
 - **SCV** and **ICV** are marginal: e.g. *auf-pep(p)(en)* 'to spice up', *um-rand(en)* 'to edge'
- **Parasynthetic** verbs (3,51%):
 - E.g. *be-erd-ig(en)* 'to bury'
- Only 2 cases of **back-formation (or conversion with phonological change?)**:
 - *das Gelenk* 'hinge' > *lenken* 'to steer, to guide'
 - *das/der Tingeltangel* 'café chantant; pub piano' > *tingeln* 'to tinkle (to play the piano)'

Results: Comparison English - Dutch - German



Discussion and conclusion

Discussion: A Germanic Sandwich?

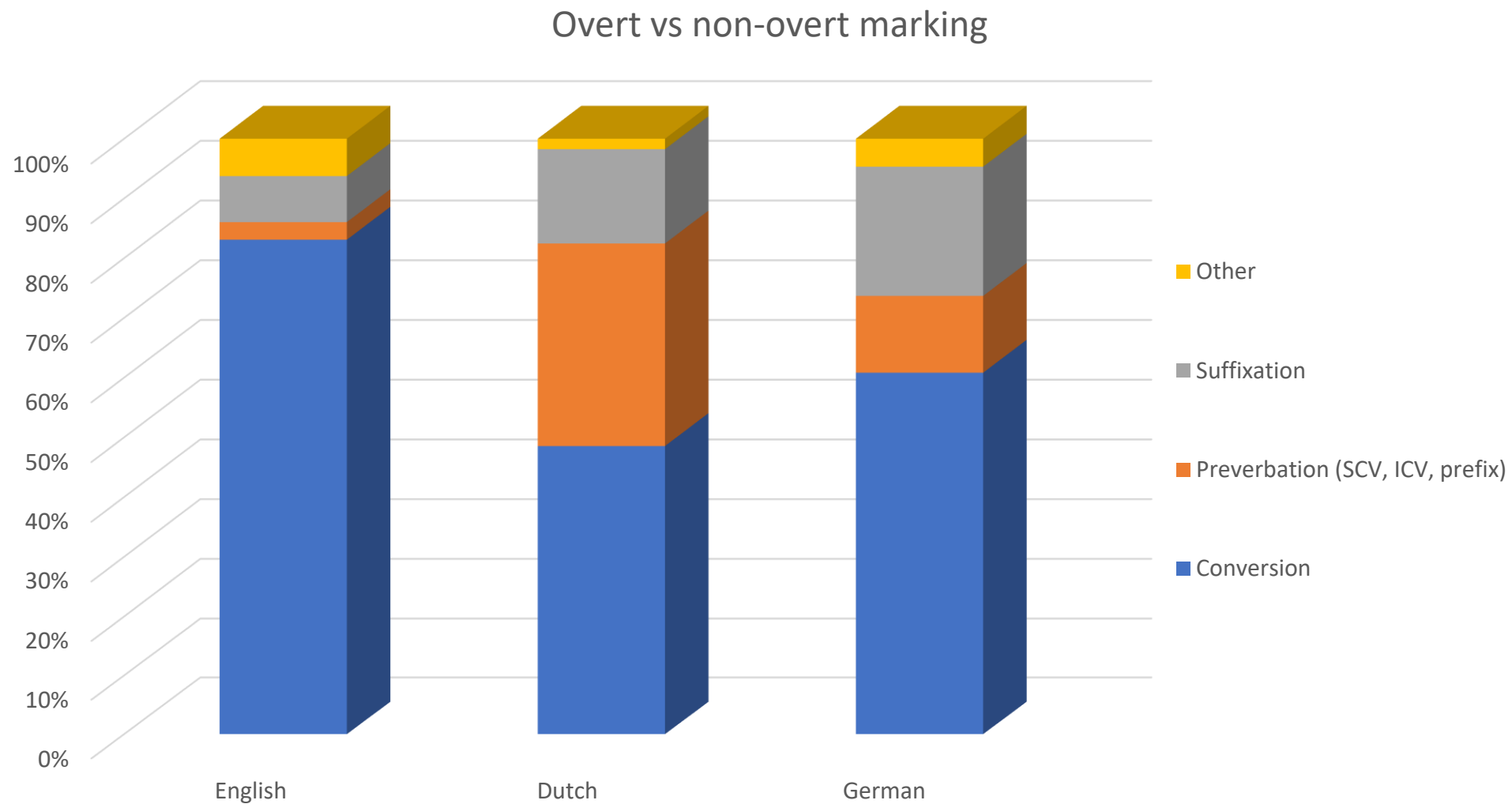
- **Not a clear picture**, because:
- The following clines are **in line with the Germanic Sandwich hypothesis**:
 - **Suffixation**: Eng < Du < Germ
 - **Parasynthesis**: Eng < Du < Germ
- But **no « Germanic Sandwich » clines** are observed for the following DNV types:
 - **Conversion**: Eng > Du < Germ (underrepresented in Dutch)
 - **SCV**: Eng < Du > Germ (overrepresented in Dutch)
 - **Prefixation/ICV**: Eng < Du > Germ (overrepresented in Dutch)

Discussion: A Germanic Sandwich?

- When comparing the three Germanic languages:
 - Largest proportion of conversion in English
 - Largest proportion of suffixation in German
 - Largest proportion of preverbatation (SCV, ICV, prefixation) in Dutch
- **Conversion, preverbatation and suffixation may be put on a cline, because:**
 - **Conversion** = non-overt marking of the word-class change (except: phonological change)
 - **Suffixation** = overt marking of the word-class change
 - **Preverbatation** = special (hybrid?) status
 - Preverbed DNVs are close to conversion, cf. schema unification of [preverb [X]_V]_V and [[X]_N]_V conversion
 - (especially separable) preverbs are semantic operators rather than word-class changing operators ($\leftrightarrow$ RHR)

→ **Germanic Sandwich cline from non-overt to overt marking of the word-class change**

Discussion: overt vs non-overt marking



A typological account

- Languages vary with respect to **boundary permeability** (Berg 2014) and **word-class assignment systems** (Lehmann 2008)
- Lehmann (2008) proposes a **cline from primary to final categorization**:
 - **Primary categorization (stem-level):**
In a language with high stem categoriality (such as Latin), the syntax contributes nothing to the categorization of words, which means that such templates play a minor role in constructions.
 - **Final categorization (phrase-level):**
In a language with low stem categoriality (such as English), assigning the words to categories is fully achieved only at the level of syntax.

A Construction Grammar account

- Categories are seen as **construction-specific**:
 - Cf. Croft (2001: 58): “Radical Construction Grammar argues that categories and relations are construction-specific”
 - Cf. Goldberg (1995: 27-31): the construction determines the (grammatical/semantic) properties of the verb, i.e. verbs have **constructional meanings**
 - *Sam sneezed.* [INTRANSITIVE CXN]
 - *Sam sneezed the napkin off the table.* [CAUSED MOTION CXN]
 - Cf. Lehmann (2008)’s concept of “**final (phrase-level) categorization**”, typical of English

A Construction Grammar account

- With respect to DNV formation, this constructionist approach holds better for English than for Dutch and German:
- English (enTenTen15):
*We go for hikes, and we **snowshoe** in winter (...)*
→ V category marked by syntax ([SV] chunk)
- Dutch (nlTenTen14):
*Struin lekker door Copacabana en bezoek de imposante Moorse kathedraal die boven het plaatsje **uittorent**. ‘Stroll through Copacabana and visit the impressive Moorish cathedral that towers over the town.’*
→ V category marked by syntax (SOV) and morphology (inflection, preverb?)
- German (deTenTen13):
*Auch hier **attackierten** Rechtsextremisten ein Flüchtlingswohnheim (...)* ‘Here, too, right-wing extremists attacked a refugee hostel (...)’
→ V category marked by syntax (OVS) and morphology (class-changing suffix, inflection)

Conclusion: A Germanic Sandwich?

- DNV constructions in English, Dutch and German follow the « Germanic Sandwich » cline with respect to the **parameter of overt/non-overt marking** of the word-class change

	English	Dutch	German
Word-class assignment	Syntax	Syntax + morphology	Syntax + morphology
Marking of word-class change	Almost exclusively non-overt marking	In-between	Large proportion of overt marking
Most typical DNV constructions	Conversion	Conversion Preverbatation	Conversion (incl. phonological change) Suffixation

Conclusion: A Germanic Sandwich?

A matter of p(rop)ortions...



English sandwich

Just toast



Dutch sandwich

Toast with a lot of cheese and a bit of ham



German sandwich

Toast with a lot of ham and a bit of cheese



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Thank you